/78 cont./

122 Simple communication referring to ordinary activities caused no difficulties. With 50-80 words one can, with a little practice, converse fluently in any foreign language: this /dieser (masc.)/, this /dieses (neuter)/ yes, no, is there, is not there, do not know, want, do not want, what is it called, what, where, when, how much, all, few, much, another, immediately, tomorrow, I, you, one, two, three, good, bad, large, small, near, far, up, down, with, for, in, toward, let us, give, take, bring, put, go, go away, come, arrive, stay, eat, drink, sleep, make, cut, stop, and the most important substantives. The otherwise so necessary "thank you" and "please" are unknown to the Brazilian native. With a small part of these words one can get along very well, and it would be too bad if it were otherwise. The fundamental grammatical differences, for example, between Portuguese and any Indian language of Brazil are so great that no colonist or soldier is ever able to penetrate its system; even the pronominal prefixes and the postpositions form an insurmountable obstacle. On account of them it is unfortunately not possible in many cases to separate out the word stem, which we, according to our linguistic feeling, require first of all, from the fusion made with those elements. The stem of the verb, besides its combination with pronominal prefixes, is joined and assimilated with adverbial expressions, in order to give what we call inflection, in such a way
193 that a poor devil of a beginner sinks into absolute despair. Since in Bakaïrí "záte" and "kχanadíle" both mean "I am taking along," different forms of the same meaning, how am I supposed to guess that the verbal stem "za," which, according to the phonetic laws of the language, changes to "ha" and "a," is given in the "a" /79/ of kχ-an-a-díle? Thus, with the (already altered) verb stem "e," to see, "you see" is "méta," and "you do not see" is manepüráma" and is to be analyzed:

m	- e -	ta	and	m	an	- e -	püra	- ama.	
you	stem	inflection		you	inflection	stem	not	you.	

/79 cont./

193 The simple result is that all kinds of things that do not belong to it are regarded as part of the stem, and the form is used on all kinds of occasions where it is appropriate neither according to person, time sequence, or other nuances contained in it. The organic structure of words becomes rigid, and the sentence becomes a mosaic of the crudest sort made up of nothing but fragments. But there is provision for understanding; for the Indian, with his talent for the characteristic, the chopped-off fragment of a word suffices completely for the entire sentence, and, what is worse, if one wants to make progress in the language, it is all the more agreeable, of course, if one needs only the clumsy content of the communication; he himself soon adopts the new manner of expression: fluent conversations are carried on by barter with stamped coins instead with living words.

126 192 [194] [153] What made my recording not a little difficult was the circumstance that the Bakaïrí did not understand my questioning tone. They imitated it instead of answering. Obtaining the names of the objects present was done without any trouble; they even anticipated the need, pointed to those I had not yet asked about, and said the names. I went into great detail with the parts of the body because they are always joined with pronominal prefixes; thus the Indian does not say, for example, "tongue," but always, with the addition of the person, "my tongue," "your tongue," "his tongue," and thus there is a grammatical value in this category of the list. It was therefore well to note whether the part of the body whose stem one was asking for was shown on oneself, on the person questioned, or on a third person, for the answer was accordingly: your ålu, my ulu, his ilu, or in general kχulu, the tongue of all of us here.

126 192 536 825 Recording animal names was a pleasure, for here the imitation with sounds and gestures was the most artful. A snake, an alligator head, or the like was also drawn in the sand. The quantity of the many individual statements was a hindrance to me, since I did not know enough about the voices and the behavior of their animals; they offered me subleties in the distinction of species which, to their surprise, I was unable to appreciate, and

B A 174 A [167] /400 cont./ there is historical proof here for the shift of the Karaiben from south to north is not affected by it. The shift of latitude is also very considerable, for today the Suyá live on the 11th degree of latitude and previously on the Rio Verde lived considerably farther south, whereas the Apiaká are already in close proximity to the Amazon River.

B A [197] A [194] B A [13] [193] The linguistic relationship of the Apiaká and Bakaïrí is close, but no closer than that of several Karaiben tribes north of the Amazonas and the Bakaïrí! It is very interesting that in many cases the Apiaká already have consonant terminal sounds and double consonants within the word. I am presenting a few words from Ehrenreich's vocabulary, which has not yet been published. The pronominal prefix of the first person is ĩ-, which in Bakaïrí sometimes belongs to the first person, sometimes to the third.

B A 192 Tooth ieri, Bak. vẽri, Karaiben in general;
Tongue elo (e slightly audible), Bak. ĩlu (third person);
Hand omiat, Bak. omári (second person);
Foot ipun, Bak. iχúlu (third person);
Thigh iwet, Bak. ewéti (third person);
Lower leg iptchin, Bak. ischinári (third person);
Nose inam, Bak. inári (third person);
Ear iuanan, Bak. iwanatári (third person);
Bone itpun, Bak. ipüri;
Water paru, Bak. páru water, river;
River paru ime, Bak. páru ima large river;
Sun tschitschi, Bak. tschĩschi;
Moon nuno, Bak. núna;
Heaven kabo, Bak. kχáu;
Rain kongpo, Bak. kχópö;
Fire kampot (Bak. péto), Rukuyenne and others wapoto, apoto, cf. the table in Bakaïrí-Grammatik, p. 278.
Tree, wood, yei, Bak. se, Makuschí yeh, yéi;
Father ongmä, Bak. iyúme;
/401/
Mother iämä, Bak. íse;

/409 cont./

802 means lack of practice. They have no livestock whose numbers they would be obliged to watch, they have no trade in goods that would have to be counted or referred to a unit of value; they need only inform one another now and then about the number of persons, about the number of animals, which they have encountered, which they have killed, which they divided up among themselves, about the trees that they cut, and whatever similar work there is in the household and daily life, for which their number words are adequate or for which an indefinite multiplicity may be conveyed with other means of expression in word and gesture. They have the principle of counting, the abstraction of number; the Karaiben base-people already had this in ancient times, and from there upward the further development depends only on interest. Their limited need for concerning themselves
• [193] with the number of things is, in my opinion, characterized by the lack of a plural even more than by the lack of number words. Tree, trees, and wood are all "se," house, houses, and village always merely "éti."

800 We whose lives are full of numbers because they represent the framework of all our knowledge possess a great many acquired items of knowledge in which all /410/ ordinary, "regularly" recurring numerical relationships are included, and in very many individual cases we do not need independent observation. It is not likely that we ever counted our toes, but it is true, there are ten of them. We can wear a vest for a year, put it on and take it off daily, and yet have no idea how many buttons are on it. Now primitive man clings to each single phenomenon and knows nothing about laws. If one asks him how many fingers he has he is glad to do us the favor of counting them. He takes the question exactly as the European does the one about the vest buttons.

171 How the Bakaïrí art of counting, which is extraordinarily
802 similar to that of Australian tribes, could have developed further step by step can be seen in a frequently cited example among their near, though spatially very remote kinsmen, the Tamanako of the Orinoco. The latter have completed the

/421 cont./

171 in the color word for red, nor the word for the white clay in the
192 color word for white. I believe that the dyestuffs are far older
196 than the need for distinguishing them according to their colors.
[193] This is probable for the Bakaïrí because of two points: first, the color adjectives, with the single exception of "red, orange," do not belong to the inventory of the Karaiben base-language; secondly, their construction according to the schema t-stem-éng bears the stamp of a more recent formation.

000 I may doubtless also be permitted to use such a situation to support the earlier argument about the origin of personal color ornamentation (see pp. 172 ff.). No matter how ancient and innate the joy of color may assuredly be, nevertheless the circumstance that a need to distinguish the colors of the dyestuffs with words did not manifest itself until late speaks in favor of the view /422/ that colored ornamentation was not first used on the body for the sake of the colors. Since whatever was worn on the body as trophies or for practical purposes was actually distinguished by varying colors, which must have given pleasure, people quite naturally came to want to use them also for enjoyment, and from this time on the earliest distinctions by means of names for colors began; within these, in turn, the first certainty was gained also for the colors that were fashioned, whereas the need for distinguishing green and blue was satisfied by words which were still vague, such as "parakeet-colored."

171 One more thing must not be forgotten. The Indian does not
192 form general judgments, such as "the trees are green, the sky is
811 blue." Nothing induces him to analyze this view presented to him by the external world; it is of no interest to his person in any activity and is something taken for granted, such as that water is wet. What does interest him in making distinctions according to color is animals and plants. His principal application of the color names acquired is here and it is necessary to find out here how he proceeds with color names in his own usage.

171 With this in mind I looked through the list of animal names
192 in the glossary of Martius, in which some 1300 have been col-
825 lected from the total literature. "Parakeet-colored," cugui, for "blue and green" is used only a single time in the case of a

/227 cont./

192
193
539

1 **Bakaéri, waráiu, kxaraiwa aceɣebidúo**
Bakaeri Tapuia Brazilian .when they quarreled

arinedili
they became.

2 **Kxiwimári iewirâpadili**
Our captain became angry

3 **Aɣi amarémo tokedúo tohi**
Enough you /pl./ when he said people

ewánu iniɣadili.
their illness made it.

4 **Iniɣatúo idanára anaɣido âɣâ kxöiɣeli**
When made it all animal with we died

5 **Ilapüriñe emedili wâɣâ yamadili.**
Then dawn above became dark.

6 **Xixi eɣacého yamu inenaxúli.**
Sun his coming out dark closed-it.

7 **Inenaxudúo iɣawinu iniɣadili.**
When closed it cold made it.

8 **Xixi eɣacedúo yamadili.**
Sun when came out became dark.

9 **Yamatúo xirimúka eɣacéli.**
When became dark star came out.

/228/

192
193
539

10 **Aɣö** **yamu** **iɣawinu** **iniɣadili.**
Quite dark cold made it.

11 **Aritúo** **udódo** **ahepanokeli.**
Then jaguar appeared.

12 **Péto** **aɣö** **aɣaetiño-modo** **iniɣadili.**
Fire enough ancients made it.

13 **Taxo** **ahitokili** **püreu** **ahitokili.**
Knife played arrow played.

14 **Tãwi-ɣe** **iɣedãri** **tunaneɳ**
Their hunger with those who did not die strong

niɣe-pa **tohinóhe.**
die not remain.

15 **Ilapüriñe** **iwerâ-pa-itúo** **xixi** **eɣacéli.**
Then today not being sun came out.

16 **Xixi** **kxurotaλ** **aɣaetiño-modo** **amiduadili.**
Sun midday ancients ate.

17 **Ilapüriñe** **aɣi** **xikidúo** **péto** **õro**
Then much slept fire earth

odákxa **eyaceli.**
inside came out.

18 **Xixi** **péto-ára** **idili.**
Sun fire like became.

19 **Ce** **adapikú-ɣe** **iɣéli.**
Tree heat with died.

/229/
192
193
539

20 **Páru çavêli.**
Water dried.

21 **Páru çavedúo kxãna iγéli.**
Water when dried fish died.

22 **Kxána iγedúo cenena kxana**
Fish when dried urubu fish

çani.
ate-it.

23 **Páru çavedúo anaγido iγéli páru**
Water when dried animal died water

tinenedili.
wanted to drink.

24 **Apa anáhi idanára iγéli.**
Mandioca maize all died.

25 **Áritibiñe kxöiγeli.**
Then we died.

26 **Kxöiγedúo cenerá-la kxani.**
When we died urubu ate us.

27 **Ãráγi kxapüráne be-ba awiliγe.**
Someone buries us is not thus.

28 **Idanára anaγido iγeli.**
All animals died.

29 **Aritibiñe ayi-pa kxitúo**
Then many not when we remained

192 /230/ kxiwimári parutába inepehenili.
193 our captain sea blessed it (blew).
539

30 Aritúo parutába ayo-idíli, péto enaxekili.
Then sea rose, fire put it out

31 Kxaraiwa idamú-do niõretudíli.
Brazilian his grandfathers dreamed-it.

32 Mâra núna iwâyâ parutába ivehe
That moon over sea will swell

yamũra keli.
spirit said.

33 Tonudõ- na keduo miyewadili-la
His people for when said you lie

iunudo keli.
his people said.

34 Tunudo kedúo pi inanadili.
His people when said ax picked it up.

35 Pepi ima xiyace.
Canoe large made it.

36 Ata takxaheŋ pepi.
House high canoe.

37 Ilãe tipiniri inadili pepi odaλ.
Then his food takes it canoe inside.

38 Ilãe kxopáe timeri tiwũdi
Then at night his child his wife

/231/ **áyâ anela oxedili.**
with alone sailed.

192
193
539

39 **Oxedibi-ñe parutaba çaloxúli.**
When he sailed sea rose.

40 **Çaloxuli kxopae.**
Rose at night.

41 **Aritúo idanara anayido ayâ kxöiyéli.**
Then all animal with we died.

42 **Tõiwedúo çayuno iniyadili.**
When swelled sand made it.

43 **Iwerâ-pa mâra tapiku wâyâ çavelli.**
Today not that heat above came down.

44 **Çavedúo çayúno tuxũe**
When came down sand stone to

atuyudili
turned.

45 **Ilapüriñe õro acemakéli.**
Then the earth is exchanged.

46 **Kxái-na õro idâli.**
Sky to earth went.

45 /47/ **Idâdúo kxáu ayá-na xirimúca idâli.**
When went sky with star went.

48 **Pimiri ara tawöyeŋ atuyudili.**
Ant like flying thing became.

192 /232/49 Tawöyen atuyudili kxonopio ara.
193 Flying thing became little bird like.
539

50 Idanâra anayido ara kxidatuyudili.
All animals like we became.

51 Ilapüriñe ayökxitúo tohi ewanu-ye
Then when we grew our work with

kxidacenomedadili.
we learned.

52 Idu-pe-ba ilapüriñe pohi ara
Forest there was not then grass like

idu yahele.
forest grew.

53 Mâra adapiku wâyâ apa
That heat over mandioca

ewili ipüri-büri eyaheli
its fruit its old seed germinated

pohi anaλ.
grass (campo) middle of.

193 Before giving the translation of this text, let us take it as the theme to accompany a few grammatical explanations.

One fact strikes us at once: the sentences follow one another, each usually with only one verb, without interdependence or subordination. In other words: as far as syntax is concerned, Kxura-itano uses parataxis exclusively. /233/ The greatest complexity attained by the sentence is that of apposition, enumeration, or parallelism, which does not exceed the scope of parataxis.

/233 cont./

•193 In the sentence, the subject comes first, the verb last; the object, when required, is placed between the two. It may precede the subject when logically there is no possibility of confusion. Thus, a Bacaeri will say either Pohi ta/uhe pocéka, or poceka ta/uhe poji, or poceka pohi ta/uhe, because he knows that the pig eats grass and grass does not eat pig.

The reader will hardly overlook the frequency with which substantives and verbs end in l or r followed by a vowel. This is because K'ura-itano has a particle, which Steinen writes lõ, used to indicate emphasis. In the language of the Chaymas it is also used: "And for the term meaning 'also' /tambien/, they were accustomed to add the syllable re to the ends of words, e.g., for vche, 'I,' they say vchére, 'I also'" /translated from the Spanish/. (Tauste, Arte y bocabulario de la lengua de los Indios Chaymas /Nature and vocabulary of the language of the Chaima Indians/, Madrid, 1680, reprinted in facsimile by Platzmann in Leipzig, 1888, p. 46). The same thing is noted with slight variations in all Carahiba languages. Lõ may be changed to na, as in No. 47 /see p. 12/, or to ñe.

Also deserving of attention are the endings di-li, wi-li, ki-li of the verbs, different auxiliary forms, sometimes equivalent to the English "do," sometimes to "to have," "to be," "to become," sometimes merely emphatic. The early grammarians called their equivalent in other languages a substantive verb, a well chosen term; it should be noted, however, that they have nothing in common /234/ with the verb "to be"; sentences such as "The captain is rich" are expressed by the Bacaeri with a mere juxtaposition of the words, Pima tisehik'xenen.

The manner in which thought is expressed makes it plain that logical subordination is rudimentary. The Indian is carried along by a series of ideas and goes on with them up to a certain point; then he goes back and does likewise with the others; sentences far apart represent the same chronological moment; what would seem to us most natural if placed at the

• 193 /234 cont./
end is broached by them from the very beginning; in short, this is a formal parataxis which corresponds to the condominium of impressions and undulation of ideas.

From what has been said it can be readily deduced that there are neither conjunctions nor the conjunctive in Kxura-itano.

Passing now to the parts of speech, we note immediately that the substantive expresses, beside the idea of a thing or person, the idea of time. Tukñe, No. 44, is a future or at least a supine: strictly speaking, it means--to stone /para pedra/. The supine of nouns is formed by adding to the word the suffix nõe, of which, however, only the e is retained, while the vowel that precedes it is nasalized. The present tense is the word alone, or with the mere addition of e. The past is formed by the addition of pũri, or bũri, which performs the same function as cuer or puer in the language of the Tupis and Guaranis.

One example will show this better: iwũdi, "married woman," expresses the present tense, iwũdie, the future; iwũdipũri designates a woman who has been married but is no longer, either because her husband died, in which case it is synonymous with "widow," or because she herself died, /235/ in which case it may be translated as "late wife," or simply because her husband left her.

In the same way as the particle cuer in aba-ñeẽ, so can pũri or bũri indicate the plural in the Bacaeri. From this may be drawn a conclusion so spontaneous and natural that it must perforce be false and cannot be trusted: the Indians regard the noun as representing one: imeri, 1 son: imeobũre, sons--ex.: 1 son. Subtleties of this kind are not alien to the American aborigines: "The Indian will say aypapa vaca and not vacaretá, because if he has counted them, there cannot be one" /translated from the Spanish/ (Restivo, Arte de la lengua guarany /Nature of the Guarani language/, p. 12, publ. Seybold, Stuttgart, 1892).

/235 cont./

193 [114] That the substantives have a plural has been contested; just recently, Sr. Lucien Adam maintained "that the Bakairi is the only one of the adequately known (Carib) dialects in which distinctions of number are not expressed by any suffix" /translated from the French/ (5); nevertheless they do exist

[113]

5. Matériaux pour servir à l'établissement d'une grammaire comparée des dialectes de la famille caribe /Materials to serve for setting up a comparative grammar of the dialects of the Carib family/, Paris, 1893, a book of extraordinary value for the study of difficult problems.

and there are no fewer than three endings which indicate plural. The first is modo: aʔaetiño, "ancient," aʔaetiño-modo, "ancients." The second one is mo: pekodo, "woman," pekodómo, "women." The third one is do: idamu, "his grandfather," idamudo, "his grandfathers." Let it be noted, however, that the Bacaeris, although they have a fine verb with which to count (imperative, çapoʔeʔa), do not count beyond three, and thus numbers are of little importance to them. Let it be noted further that the word idanára means both "all" and "entire"; in /236/ other words, in their minds the concepts of plurality and totality have not been differentiated, resulting in many words, principally ending in do, in which the concept of plural does not exist, for example, yunu, "his blood," yunudo, "his people"--that is, "his bloods."

There is little to be said concerning gender.

There are words which may be called masculine, such as uʔurodo, "man," or feminine, such as arekʷuma, "hen." The sole vestige of grammatical gender, however, is found in the demonstratives: mâka, miâka, mera, êra, inara are used

/236 cont./

193 in connection with people or animate beings; mára, ara, hira, xira, awõre, ila, only with inanimate things.

The adjectival relation, or restrictive complement, as others call it, is expressed through the addition of the possessive index to the object possessed: thus, u/urodo eti = "man his house" = "the house of the man"; arekxuma iço = "hen her husband" = "husband of the hen," or rooster.

The possessive indices are divided into two series: one is--ie for the first person, i for the second, e for the third person; thus, åta, "house" in the absolute sense, without indicating the owner; ieti, "my house"; iti, "your house"; eti, "his house"; iewâri, "my arm"; iwâri, "your arm"; ewâri, "his arm." This must be the older form, which is being driven out by the other series: i for the first and third persons, å, a, â, o for the second. For the third person there are also: ç as in çawâri, "his arm," n as in nyui, "his father," and x. In addition, there is the reciprocal: t, see Nos. 37 and 38 /see p. 11/.

The addition of the possessive almost always /237/ modifies the word's initial consonant. Thus, pepí, "canoe," without any designation of the owner, has the p changed to w if we wish to state who this is: pima iwepiri, "captain his canoe" = "canoe of the captain"; mayaku, "basket," iramudo, "boy," gives iramúdo iwayakúru, "boy his basket"; tunáta, "bath," piahi, "curer" (not "sorcerer"), piahi idunatari, "curer his bath" = "bath of the curer." We have already indicated above the chief phonetic changes; the last syllable in the names of objects possessed is the particle l or r followed by a vowel, which has already been referred to.

The most common personal pronouns are: for the first person, ura in the singular, kxura in the plural; for the second, ama; for the third, the determinatives already referred to with regard to the gender of the substantives. It can be questioned whether kxura and hina mean "we" or "people" /indefinite persons; Port., a gente/, French on, German man, and the old Portuguese homem, now obsolete. In any case, the concept of

/237 cont./

193 first person plural inclusive and exclusive, familiar in the aba-ñeẽ, is alien to the Kɤ̃ura-itano. Amaremo, "you," second person plural, is obviously of secondary formation: mo indicates plural, re is the emphatic particle, and ama is the pronoun for the second person singular.

Another series of lesser used pronouns: ahe, mahe, kɤ̃idahe.

The adjective, generally put after the substantive, is, like the latter, affected by time and number. Comparatives are avoided. A concept close to that of the superlative is expressed either with the emphatic particle or by means of the addition of certain words such as kɤ̃úru, "indeed" (comparable to the French bon, tout de /238/ bon, kɤ̃ura in the Bacaeri has, among others, the meaning of "good"); ãwakukeba, "it is not a joke," etc.

193 The determinatives are affected by time and number.
801 There are only three cardinal numbers: tokale, "one"; ahaʔe, "two"; ahewaʎ or ahewanela, "three." Steinen gave to Antonio, the Indian who was his informant in the Xingú region, the following sentence, "At first he (the child) walks like an animal, on all fours," and obtained only: çaʔuɤ̃̃e anaʔito ara ãhe iwodo adakɤ̃obodili, that is, "he walks with the two arms." To the minds of the Bacaeris, rather than to produce a number four, it seemed easier to invent a whole story whereby Cemimu (Morcego /bat/) had a son by the daughter of Pau de Morcego /"bat wood"; Andira/ (Pödiki), and, when he found out about the paternity, he became angry at the child, breaking its knees with an arrow; since then children walk first with the two arms before they walk with the two feet (6).

826
773

6. The matter of knees seems to have caused the minds of the Bacaeris much trouble. Mapinukai, one of their ancestors, had knees like those of a

826
773

/238 cont./ chicken; having won a race against Keri and Came, however, the latter broke them, and since then the knees of human beings have been as they are today.

193 As for adverbs, suffice it to say that they follow or precede the verb and may receive possessive and time.

Prepositions, which are numerous, always come after the substantive, and we shall give merely: da, which indicates "place where"; eina or eira, "place to where," generally elided to ra or na, with the preceding vowel nasalized; ohe, õro, "upon"; aʒe, "with," meaning company, ʒe, "with," instrument. The preposition de /Port./, in the sense of the English "from" or the German aus, is represented by a complicated form.

/239/ An explanation of the verbs, however superficial, would take us far afield: many points are yet to be studied, and while we are familiar with the common forms, they are not yet sufficiently analyzed.

Steinen divides verbs into two classes, in one of which the preterit is formed with raki, in the other with taki; we may accept this classification, which, on the whole, is satisfactory and lends itself perfectly to our present purposes.

Verbs have two affirmative imperatives in the second person singular, and one negative; they also have what may be called an imperative of the first person plural.

The indicative has three past tenses, which may be called remote /remoto/, intermediate /médio/, and immediate /flagrante/, since the latter, which is formed with raki or taki, may also indicate the immediate future or present.

They would seem to have two present tenses: one, in which he or ce is added to the radical, and followed by the personal pronoun; the other, uniting personal pronouns, the radical of the verb, and the auxiliary of the substantive verb,

/239 cont./

•193 which has already been mentioned. Regarding these possible present tenses, however, it should be borne in mind that they often express the past and the remote past, as in the passage copied above. It would be simpler to regard them as forms of the infinitive, chiefly because they admit postpositions and thus function as substantives; it should be borne in mind, however, that I. when designating an act carried out at the very moment when he was speaking, always used the form in combination with the auxiliary whenever the verb permitted it.

/240/ The future is formed with an auxiliary ice, which means "to like," added to the present, and it is seldom used.

There are active, passive, and supine participles.

In any tense, the endings are added following the radical and do not vary with the persons except when mo is added to indicate plural; the pronouns which precede the radical vary a great deal, however, presenting what the grammarians of the abañeẽ call "transitions." Thus, if we say "I kill," it is necessary to specify whom in the pronoun or pronouns which precede the radical, and this gives two possible forms, "I kill you," or "I kill him"; in the second person, three possible forms, "you kill me," "you kill him," "you kill us"; in the third person, four possible forms, "he kills me," "he kills you," "he kills him," "he kills us"; in the first person plural, two possible forms, "we kill you," "we kill him." The second person plural and the third do not differ from the singular. We have, as a result, 11 possible forms for each tense, in principle; in reality, some of them have been obliterated and merged, if, indeed, they ever existed, and now there are not more than seven at the most, as we shall see below. Obviously, this is the case for only transitive verbs.

The transitive verbs that undergo least alteration are the reflexives, since the action can only be exercised upon the agent, which is itself the person, and the verbs such as "to tell," "to give," "to say," etc., which generally demand a complement of person, to whom one tells, gives, or says

/240 cont./

●193 something. Since the Bacaeris indicate this person /241/ separately from the verb and clearly with postposition, and the thing told, said, or given is always third person, it follows that in such cases there are no transitions, and the forms are merely three for the singular and one for the plural.

As for the reflexive verbs and the transitive ones, which only take objects in the third person, the pronouns which precede the radical are kx in the first person, m in the second, a vowel, usually i or n /sic/, in the third, and kxi or k/id in the first person plural.

Intransitive verbs often take ie or i in the first person, e or a in the second, y or i or n in the third, like the substantives accompanied by possessives.

Verbs in raki and taki both have their special negative conjugation, the former in püri, the latter in pa.

In the third person singular there is a special form which has approximately a passive meaning: the object and the verb are used without the subject.

Now for the paradigms of the principal tenses of two verbs which were selected deliberately with almost identical radicals: i/atu, "to run," and e/atu, "to tell, to narrate." The former pertains to the taki conjugation; the latter, to the raki conjugation--from which come the differences which are immediately apparent in the temporal suffixes postposed to the respective radicals. The former is intransitive; the latter is uni-transitive, that is, it does not have the 11 pronominal transitions, and from this come the equally great differences in the personal affixes which precede the respective radicals.

• 193 /242/ Radical: ɪ-ɣatu, "to run." E-ɣatu, "to tell."

Imperative	2 s.	*i-ɣatu-ɣa, i-ɣatu-da*	e-ɣatú-ɣa, e-ɣatúra.
	1 pl.	kxa-ɣatúne	kxie-ɣatũ-re.
Neg.	2 s.	t-öɣatú-hé-ba	kxoe-ɣátu.
Remote Past	1	yö-ɣatũ-ma	c-eɣatũwa.
	2	i-ɣatũ-ma	m-eɣatũwa.
	3	e-ɣatũ-ma	n-eɣatũ-wa.
	1 pl.	kxö-ɣatũ-ma	kxi-eɣatũ-wa.
Intermediate P.	1	ie-ɣatu-da	c-eɣátu.
	2	i-ɣatu-da	m-eɣátu.
	3	ne-ɣatu-da	n-eɣátu.
	1 pl.	kxö-ɣatu-da	kxi-eɣátu.
Immediate P. A	1	ie-ɣatu-dai	c-eɣatu-raki.
	2	i-ɣatu-dai	m-eɣatu-raki.
	3	n-eɣatu-dai	n-eɣatu-raki.
	1 pl.	kxö-ɣatu-dai	kxi-eɣatu-raki.
Immed. Past B	1	ie-ɣatu-taki	
	2	i-ɣatu-taki	
	3	n-eɣatu-taki	
	1 pl.	kxö-ɣatu-taki	
Pres. A		ie-ɣatu-di-li	kxa-n-eɣatú-li.
		i-ɣatu-di-li	ma-n-eɣatu-li.
		e-ɣatu-di-li	i-n-eɣatú-li.
		kxö-ɣatu-di-li	kxi-n-eɣatu-li.
Pres. B		ɣatú-he (for all persons)	eɣatú-he (for all persons).
Negative Pres.	1	ie-ɣatu-büra	kxa-n-eɣatu-ba.
	2	i-ɣatu-büra	ma-n-eɣatu-ba.
	3	n-eɣatu-büra	n-eɣatu-ba.
	1 pl.	kxö-ɣatu-büra	kxi-n-eɣatu-ba.
Act. Part.		ɣatu-heni	eɣatu-heni.
Pass. Part.		ɣatu-dibi	eɣatu-ribi.
Supine		ɣatu-dõe	eɣatu-hõe.

/243/

• 193 The verbs in raki and taki are governed by these two paradigms as far as the affixes postposed to the radical and indicative of tense are concerned; the paradigm for eyatu, "to tell," is used for the verbs which may be called unitransitive, either because they are reflexive and the action is communicated only to the subject performing it--identity of subject and object--or because, aside from the complement of thing they demand one of person, and while the former is expressed by incorporation in the radical, the latter, the only one which could change, is expressed by the Bacaeris separately from the radical of the verb.

The case of the multi-transitive verbs is complex, and demands the study of what the Jesuit grammarians--in spite of the defective method which led them to apply the standards of Latin to the idioms of the New World--minds of unusual linguistic discernment and insight, called transitions /transições/ in connection with the abá-ñeẽ.

Taking the radical çatö (Bak. Sprache, 143), we find that çatö-he is one of the indicative presents and means "I cut, you cut, he cuts, we cut, you cut, they cut." This is sufficient to show how right Steinen is when he considers it a grammatical myth to say that in the Cariba languages ç represents the first person pronoun. (B. Sp., 281/291).

If, however, we wish to say, "you cut me," we shall have i-atöhe, which also means "he cuts me." If we wish to say, "I cut you," we shall have a-tö-he, which also means "he cuts you" or "we cut you." If we say kꞩ-atöhe, it may mean either "you cut us" or "he cuts us," which leads one to conclude that the /244/ ç in çatö-he corresponds to the object in the third person, and that çatöhe means "I, you, he, we, you, or they cut it." This is indeed the case, which certainly does not favor Steinen, when, in his admirable endeavor to reconstruct the primitive Cariba (Karaïbische Grundsprache) spoken by the various tribes before their separation, he classifies the ç, with its many phonetic variations, as a verb radical.

[114]

/244 cont./

● 193 To go on to the other present, we find for eɣatu the following forms: kɣa-n-atö-li, ma-n-atöl-i, i-n-atö-li, Kɣi-n-atö-li. We have already learned with respect to eɣatu that Kɣ, m, i, Kɣi mean respectively "I," "you," "he," "we"; since ɣanatöli, however, does not simply mean "I cut," but "I cut it," would it be rash to conclude that in these forms n represents the object in the third person? No, indeed, for if we wish to say "you or he cut me," we have iatöli, in which there is no n; "I, he, or we cut you," atöli; "you or he cuts us," Kɣâtöli, in which there is no n either.

In summarizing these facts, we arrive at the following results:

1. In multi-transitive verbs, the present in he or ce may undergo only four modifications, since there are that number of possible personal objects which can be added to the verb radical, preceding it;

2. In the present in di-li, ki-li, wi-li, or simply lö, when the object is in the third person, there are four possible modifications, because the character of the language demands in such a case that, aside from the patient pronoun, /245/ which does not vary, the agent pronouns, which are four in number, be added to the radical, preceding it;

3. In the first and second persons singular and the first person plural, since it is a matter of the person who is speaking or spoken to, persons present, only the objective pronoun is used, and since there are only three, two for the singular and one for the plural, there are only three transitions.

Thus the transitions, which we referred to above as possibly adding up to 11, do not add up to more than seven in one case and four in the other; 11 in all, but in different categories.

Thus, after a long detour, we return once more to the pronouns.

[114] With much justification, the Jesuits claim that in the abá-ñeẽ the pronouns belong to two different classes.

/245 cont./

114
193 "The personal pronouns," says the greatly missed Baptista Caetano, "are divided into two well characterized orders, namely: the first, of the agent or denominative pronouns, and the second, of the patient or accusative pronouns and of the governed cases. Both of them are preposed to the verbs, in accordance with the most general rule...And when both occur together, the patient one is the one immediately next to the verb" (7).

[113]

7. Annaes da Bibliotheca Nacional, VI. 8, Rio, 1879.

193 The same is to be observed in the Kxura-itano. And the patient or objective pronouns are identical to the possessives, which is another proof of how little differentiation there is as yet between verb and substantive, transitive and intransitive verb, in this idiom.

/246/

193 Here is now a list of the personal pronouns, divided into the two classes of

	Agent Pronouns	Patient Pronouns
1	*u, ura, ahe, kx (a)*	*ie, i, u*
2	*m (a), ama, mahe*	*a, ai, e*
3	*a, e, i, a*	*é, i, n, ç*
4	*kxi (d), kxidahe, kxura, hina, xina*	*kx.*

The reciprocal is *t, d, ç, h, x.*

193 539 There follows a free translation of the passage given above (8), for which a good knowledge of kxura-itano is needed

8. From ewâri, "arm," which is the same as çawöli, "wing," comes the verb apari (Bakairi Sprache, pp. 82 and 108), which means "to swim." ikiwáru means "the river is swimming"--rapids; kxudupi paru ohe yuwaru (B. Sp., p. 82), "the gourd is swimming in the river." It seems that aside from paru, which is very common, and tuna, retained only in tunata, the Bacaeris also have for "water" i or ik, which we find in the preposition ikale, "inside," which is applied only to water. According to Irineu, when they wish to ask whether an animal lives in the river or on land, they commonly use the phrase: adik, õro par-ikano menoro. If it is a land animal, the answer is: par-ikano keba menoro. (Cf. B. S., p. 31.)

/246 cont./

539
[193]

in order to understand the interlinear translation. Its subject matter is the destruction of the world by fire and flood.

This is what happened to the Bacaeris, the Brazilians, the Tapuias /Tapuya/ after they quarreled. --Our captain became angry;--enough, he said, and made the people's illness, and with the other animals we all died. --Then at dawn it became dark;--the darkness stopped the sun from coming out, --when it stopped it, it caused the cold;--after sun came out, the darkness continued;--with the darkness the stars came out;--the darkness caused much cold.

/247/ Then the jaguars appeared; the ancients made much fire; the knives fought with the knives, the arrows fought with the arrows;--those who did not die of hunger, the strong ones, do not die anymore, they remain. --Then, after a time, the sun came out; the ancients ate at midday. --Then, having slept for many nights, fire came out from inside the earth;--the fire was like the sun; the trees died from the heat; the rivers dried up; -when they dried up, the fish died, --and the urubu ate the fish. --When the rivers dried up, the animals died of thirst;--mandioca, maize, they died out altogether. --Then we ourselves died, --and the urubu ate us because there was no one to bury us. --All the animals died. --After we had been reduced to a few, our captain blessed the sea;--then the sea rose and put out the fire.

The grandfathers of the Brazilians dreamed;--in the next moon the sea will swell, the spirits said to them. When he told this to his people: you are lying, his people said to him. --Then he took his ax, --made a large canoe, --tall as a house; he took his food inside the canoe; at night, alone with his wife and children, he embarked. --When he embarked, the sea rose, it rose at night. Then with all the animals we died.

When the sea rose it made the sand. --After a year it came down--and the sand turned into stone. Then the sky

/247 cont./
539 and the earth changed places; the earth went to the sky, the sky came to the earth with the stars.

Flying things arose in the form of ants;--then the flying things became little birds;--we all turned into animals.--Then, when we grew, we learned to work;--there was no forest;--then the forest arose as grass.--In the next year the mandioca fruits burst out in the middle of the campo.

/248/ Before closing, here are a few indications concerning the formation of the words.

• 193 The derivative adjective is often formed by adding t to the substantive, and the ending neŋ or ɗeŋ to indicate presence, and neni or neri or ɗeni to indicate absence; for example, isehike, "goods, baggage," tisehikeneŋ, "rich," tisehikeneri, "poor"; odo or çodo, "lord," todoneŋ, "belonging to another" (literally, "has owner"); çawöri, "wing," tawöɗeŋ, "flying thing" (9).

9. The passage cited is not part of what has been published.

ɗe is also used to form adjectives, but its chief role is with verbs, to which it always lends the idea of destruction or dismantlement: thus, from itubi, "peeling," is made kχanituɗeli, "I peeled off"; acemakeɗa, "to run away" ("elude the grasp"); iχuru, "foot," iχuɗeli, "to fall."

The reflexive verbs are formed by adding to the radical the patient pronoun represented by h, for example, Kχahinaraki, "I remained" ("I left myself"), while xinoraki is active and means "I left him," åhipanâkeli, "appeared (himself)," inepanâkeli, "caused to appear," or they are represented by x or ç, for example, axodili, "is found," iniodili, "finds him," or by d or t, adãile, "comes to an end," inãili, "puts an end to it."

The idea of repetition is obtained by introducing nono between the verbal radical and the temporal index: eɗatuhe, "I tell," eɗatunono-he, "I again tell."

/264 cont./
756 the piahi and his disciple draw near. Ah! It is you, you have
796 come? says Nakoeri;--Yes, it is I, I have come to see you, replies the disciple;--Yes, you did not like your drink, your beijú, your food, it is good, this is why you came, common people do not come to my village, says Nakoeri.

Then Nakoeri puts benches outside and talks outside to the disciple of the curer; first, he puts down a red bench; then he puts down two white benches; the disciple does not sit on the red bench; he brings out three red benches (five in all, with the red ones closer to the candidate, to tempt him); the candidate walks by the three red benches without sitting down (if he sat down, he would commit a crime and would not rise to piahi) and sits on the white bench. You are an upright man (u'urodo-lo), yes, you are brave, Nakoeri tells him.

Then Nakoeri fetches mandioca dough; he ties the tail of a red arara with cotton to the tip of the handle of the maracá, and he intones his song and plays the maracá; then the candidate's bench moves, and on the bench he goes inside the house; as he goes in, Nakoeri interrupts his song: You are going inside the sky, says Nakoeri.--Yes, Captain, I am, says the candidate.--Take him inside the sky, says Nakoeri to his companion, and he intones his song anew.

The bench goes to the sky, swirling; Nakoeri's companion holds on to the bench and instructs the candidate, who cannot see anyone. Here, Nakoeri's companion says, is the plaza of the old night; there, the /265/ plaza of the old heads, further on, the plaza of the old ribs, he goes on saying (15). The

• [193] [196]

15. The word "old" in this passage corresponds to the suffix pũri or bũri, which, as we have already seen, indicates the past of the substantives.

candidate sees nothing, he merely hears the talk of Nakoeri's companion; in the sky darkness alone reigns, and thus he does not see anyone.